

SUMMARY OF THE NEW CLASS

by Milovan Djilas

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SUMMARY OF THE NEW CLASS

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A. Origins

Marx had no idea of setting up an exclusive philosophical system or ideology. He simply noted certain trends of his day and drew from them certain conclusions. Marx was a sociologist, not a scientist; and it is incorrect to speak of Marxism as being scientific. Very little remains of his ideas in Soviet Communism except for a residue used to cement power and justify tyranny.

Marx felt that progress could come only by revolution. In this he was wrong, for under Western capitalism conditions have steadily improved since his day, so that it is quite erroneous for Communists ever to expect a revolution in the West. But in the East--Russia, China, Eastern Europe--where capitalism was unable to develop fast enough or in the right direction, revolution was inevitable, just as it was also inevitable that the revolutionaries would try to find an exclusive-ideological system to justify their revolution.

B. Character of the Revolution

In Russia capitalism failed to provide the proper setting for the growth of new social relationships, so the prime objective of the Revolution had to be the building of a new society, a task complicated by the need also for rapid industrialization. The difficulties inherent in these tasks made force and violence a condition for further progress and development.

The Revolution began with high ideals, not one of which the Communists have been able to achieve. But they cannot admit this even when forced by reality to act directly contrary to their promises since this would be an admission that the Revolution was unnecessary and also that they themselves had become unnecessary. While the Communists saw the need for rapid industrialization, they failed to see its inevitable results. They have had to act like leaders of a system of state capitalism but will not admit it, i.e., everything is done in the name of the state but behind all stands the party bureaucracy which controls everything, including all nationalized property.

C. The New Class

One of the most basic tenets of Marxism is that the Revolution would do away with all classes. The Revolution did in fact destroy all the then existing classes in Russia, but a new class--the political, or party bureaucracy--has arisen in the Soviet Union since the Revolution. This new class, which has all the characteristics of earlier ones as well as some of its own, came to power not to complete a new economic order but to establish its own order and, in so doing, to establish its own power over society. The new class, formed after power had been consolidated, began with the core of professional revolutionaries in the Communist Party. The party and the new class, however, are not identical, although the party is the core of the new class, which is composed of those who have special privileges and economic preferences because of the administrative responsibility they hold.

A class is distinguished by its ownership and its special relations with other classes. If this criterion is accepted as valid, the existence of the new class in the Soviet Union cannot be denied. The new class uses, enjoys, and disposes of all nationalized property; it is a collective ownership, but ownership nonetheless. The growth of this new class has been fostered by industrialization, for the new class has seized the lion's share of the economic progress made possible by the sacrifices and efforts of the masses.

Before the Revolution Communist Party membership meant sacrifice; today it means one belongs to a privileged class. But the emergence of the new class has been concealed under socialist phraseology, i.e., so-called socialist ownership is a disguise for real ownership by the political bureaucracy, by the new class.

Recent changes in the USSR toward collective leadership have not affected the new class. The development from Lenin's revolutionary Communism to Stalin's dogmatic Communism to the present non-dogmatic Communism means little to the masses, for the non-dogmatism of collective leadership is applied only to itself, while the people are all the more persistently educated in the dogma of Marxism-Leninism.

The rise of the new class in the Soviet Union explains the despotism there. The new class feels insecure as long as there is any other owner than itself, as long as it does not control everything. It is unimportant if its measures, such as peasant collectivization, reduce production as long as its own power is increased thereby. Every action, even

if seeming to benefit the masses, actually results in a strengthening of the property holdings and political position of the new class. For example, the current liberalization and decentralization measures are really a sham, for they are carefully designed basically to increase the power of the new class.

The new class, while the most class-conscious in history, is also least conscious of being a class, for it thinks of itself not as an owner but as a group with prescribed ideas, aims, attitudes and roles. It is inevitably despotic since it cannot allow any breach of its total authority, for that might imperil its ownership and hence the basis of its existence.

D. The Party State

The mechanism of power is simple: the party is the center of all life. Government posts, at least all important government posts, are reserved for party members, while cohesion is maintained by requiring all members to have not only the same goals but supreme power for a small group of top leaders. This situation, which became solidified under Stalin, prevails in all Communist parties and inevitably leads to personal dictatorship. The dictator is he who best expresses the wishes of the new class. This, in turn, begets corruption and extravagance as members of the new class struggle among themselves for larger shares of available privileges and economic preferences.

In every Communist state, laws and regulations are not important; actual and unwritten rules are. Regardless of the text of laws, everyone knows that the government is in the hands of party committees and secret police and acts accordingly. Whereas the party's original role was to recruit revolutionaries and to inspire action, now it simply justifies totalitarian control by the new class.

Marx correctly said that force and violence are the main constituents of a state, for they are the essence of the Communist state. Communism is supposed to eliminate classes and therefore the need for a state. But in the USSR the new class has arisen; and so that it might maintain itself in power, the state has had to be increased to the utmost. This is an obvious contradiction between theory and practice which the Communists cannot avoid. Because of the power needs of the new class, it is impossible for the Communists to create a lawful state, yet they must pretend to do so because of foreign political propaganda and also because of the need to insure and define the rights of the new class on which the state depends. Therefore, there is a law for everything, even when in practice these laws are ignored. The result is to make justice a farce.

E. Dogmatism in the Economy

The Soviet economy is not the basis for, but a reflection of, the development of the regime from a revolutionary dictatorship to a reactionary despotism. Initially, the state seized all property to further rapid industrialization; ultimately economic measures came to be guided by the interests of the ruling new class. In theory everything is done according to Marxist ideas; in practice nothing is. Collective ownership, necessary at first to achieve goals, has become a tool for the perpetuation of the power of the new class.

The new class's monopoly of ownership leads to compulsory labor, for the worker has no bargaining power vis-a-vis the government. The new class leaders have no interest in humans as such but only as factors of production. This leads to lack of worker interest, to low quality of output, and to a decline in real productivity and technical progress. Full employment in the USSR actually conceals unemployment since political needs and planning keep inefficient industries going. Everything is planned not for the sake of a healthy economy but to strengthen the regime and the new class. Wasteful undertakings are unavoidable, and the greatest waste of all is manpower--slow, unproductive work of disinterested millions together with prevention of all work not considered socialist. Soviet economic policies have made it impossible to relax the dictatorship or to raise the standard of living appreciably.

F. Tyranny over the Mind

The Communist idea that Marxism is a universal truth and that any opposing idea is treason which must be suppressed leads to tyranny in all areas of intellectual activity. The citizen of the Communist state lives in constant fear that he may entertain a wrong idea, that he will have to prove that he is not an enemy of socialism. Intellectually this results in stagnation, corruption and decay. Any original and profound thoughts are left unspoken lest the wrath of the party, of the new class, be aroused.

Rapid industrialization has created a large technical intelligentsia and a measure of inventiveness, but even this progress is restrained. Every great scientific discovery represents a changed view of the world and Communism does not permit change in the officially accepted views. But if only relatively opposed to scientific development, Communism is absolutely opposed to any intellectual progress or discovery. In the name of "Socialist Realism," all true creative art and intellectual work is prohibited. The result is inevitably corruption of the mind.

G. The Aim and the Means

Force and brutality are necessary in any revolution. But whereas in other revolutions they have ended when the revolution was made secure, the Communists intensified and maintained them, after securing power, as an integral part of the new system. The new class constantly talks about its idealistic aims but chiefly in order to justify the unjustifiable means it uses to stay in power. Everywhere Communism begins as an aspiration for an ideal society; and everywhere, as time passes, the idealism fades away during the climb to power and ownership, leaving behind only bare forms and observances without real substance. The monolithic party changes the original idealists of the party into robot bureaucrats totally lacking in morals and ideals.

Because of the denigration of its creator, Stalin, the new class will perhaps no longer be able to convince itself that the end justifies the means; but to maintain its supremacy, the new class will continue to resort to any and all means even though it has to denounce them every time they are used. The destruction of its creator, Stalin, was really the death blow to its own ideal base. For the end once served as the moral cover for the use of any means; by renouncing the use of such means, it cannot help but plant the seeds of doubt about the end itself.

H. The Essence

The essence of modern Communism is power--power wielded by the new class. Ideas, important at first, no longer play a major role. Communism as an ideology has mainly run its course. Power has become an end in itself. Under revolutionary Communism, power was necessary to seize control; under dogmatic Communism, it was necessary for the creation of a new system; and under present non-dogmatic Communism power is necessary to preserve that system. Power is today both the means and the goal of the new class so that it may maintain its privileges and ownership.

I. National Communism

Communism is, and has to be, different in every country as the result, above all, of diverse historical backgrounds. The nature of authority and property, a similar international outlook, and an identical ideology identify Communist states with one another. But it would be a mistake to ignore or underestimate the significance of the differences among them, which vary according to the extent Communists were

independent in coming to power. The satellite governments, as they become stronger, will try to escape from Soviet hegemony. Where a Communist revolution won victory independently, as in Yugoslavia, friction with other Communist states, especially the Soviet Union, is inevitable.

The concept of national Communism became meaningful only after World War II as the result of Soviet imperialism. The new Soviet policies can modify relations between the Soviet Union and other Communist states but cannot solve them, because Soviet actions are based not only on the needs of Communism but also on those of Russian imperialism the cause of which is hidden in the exploitative and despotic nature of the new class. National Communism is today a general phenomenon in Communism and affects all Communist states. The Soviet Union has had to change its tactics and is today concentrating on economic integration of the Soviet bloc. But this cannot long continue; for as the national regimes grow stronger, the drive to throw off Soviet control will also strengthen.

Moscow as a world center of Communist ideology no longer exists; it is in the process of complete disintegration. National Communism jeopardizes Soviet imperialism and is opposed to it; but since these regimes remain Communist, there remains an attraction towards their source, the USSR. What national Communism does do is to alter the nature of their international relationships.

It is erroneous to expect these regimes, including that of Yugoslavia, to evolve towards social democracy. The schism is impossible to bridge until the very nature of the movements (i.e., social democracy and Communism) changes. Expediency may, at times, call for cooperation, but this can never become a complete rapprochement. The most important effect of national Communism may well be on the Communist Parties in non-Communist countries. Local conditions, especially the realization by the workers of the possibility of gaining their objectives through elections and parliaments, may induce these Communist Party leaders to take steps to retain their hold on the workers even at the cost of weakening ties with Moscow. The de-Stalinization program, which destroyed the ideological center, as well as other factors, are pushing these national leaders ever more in that direction. The 20th CPSU Congress approval of the line that parliaments can serve as a "form of transition to socialism" was an effort on the part of Moscow to preserve its control over national Communist Parties in the face of the appeal of national Communism.

APPENDIX

QUOTATIONS FROM THE NEW CLASS
by Milovan Djilas

A. Communism as Despotism

"In the pretensions of contemporary Communism of being, if not the unique and absolute, but in any case the highest science, based on dialectical materialism, are hidden the seeds of its despotism." (p. 2)

"Almost nothing remained of original Marxism. In the West it had died out or was in the process of dying out; in the East, as a result of the establishment of Communist rule, only a residue of formalism and dogmatism remained of Marx's dialectics and materialism; this was used for the purpose of cementing power, justifying tyranny, and violating human conscience." (p. 9)

"In earlier revolutions, revolutionary force and violence became a hindrance to the economy as soon as the old order was overthrown. In Communist revolutions, force and violence are a condition for further development and even progress. In the words of earlier revolutionaries, force and violence were only a necessary evil and a means to an end. In the words of Communists, force and violence are elevated to the lofty position of a cult and an ultimate goal." (pp. 21-22)

"The totalitarian tyranny and control of the new class, which came into being during the revolution, has become the yoke from under which the blood and sweat of all members of society flow. Particular revolutionary forms were transformed into reactionary ones." (p. 72)

"Party ideological unity is the spiritual basis of personal dictatorship. Without it personal dictatorship cannot even be imagined. It begets and strengthens the dictatorship, and vice versa. This is understandable; a monopoly over ideas, or obligatory ideological unity, is only a complement and a theoretical mask for personal dictatorship. Although personal dictatorship and ideological unity were already evident in the beginnings of contemporary Communism or Bolshevism, both are firmly establishing themselves with Communism's full power, so that they, as trends and often as prevailing forms, will never again be abandoned until the fall of Communism." (pp. 75-76)

B. Communist Morality

"Demagoguery and misrepresentation are inevitable among the Communist leaders since they are forced to promise the most ideal society and 'abolition of every exploitation.'" (p. 31)

"In Communism, power or politics as a profession is the ideal of those who have the desire or the prospect of living as parasites at the expense of others." (p. 46)

"Unscrupulous ambition, duplicity, toadyism, and jealousy inevitably must increase. Careerism and an ever-expanding bureaucracy are the incurable diseases of Communism. Because the Communists have transformed themselves into owners, and because the road to power and to material privileges is open only through 'devotion' to the party--to the class, to 'socialism'--unscrupulous ambition must become one of the main ways of life and one of the main methods for the development of Communism." (pp. 60-61)

"The Communist leaders must also tend to personal extravagance--something which they cannot resist because of human frailty and because of the inherent need of those in power to be recognizable prototypes of brilliance and might.

"Careerism, extravagance, and love of power are inevitable, and so is corruption. It is not a matter of the corruption of public servants, for this may occur less frequently than in the state which preceded it. It is a special type of corruption caused by the fact that the government is in the hands of a single political group and is the source of all privileges. 'Care of its men' and their placement in lucrative positions, or the distribution of all kinds of privileges, becomes unavoidable. The fact that the government and the party are identical with the state, and practically with the holding of all property, causes the Communist state to be one which corrupts itself, in that it inevitably creates privileges and parasitic functions." (pp. 81-82)

C. Illusions of Communism

"Beginning with the premise that they alone know the laws which govern society, Communists arrive at the oversimplified and unscientific conclusion that this alleged knowledge gives them the power and the exclusive right to change society and to control its activities. This is the major error of their system." (p. 3)

"Although the Communist revolution may start with the most idealistic concepts, calling for wonderful heroism and gigantic effort, it sows the greatest and the most permanent illusions." (p. 30)

"Everything happened differently in the USSR and other Communist countries from what the leaders--even such prominent ones as Lenin, Stalin, Trotsky, and Bukharin--anticipated. They expected that the state would rapidly wither away, that democracy would be strengthened. The reverse happened. They expected a rapid improvement in the standard of living--there has been scarcely any change in this respect and, in the subjugated East European countries, the standard has even declined." (p. 37)

"The heroic era of Communism is past. The epoch of its great leaders has ended. The epoch of practical men has set in. The new class has been created. It is at the height of its power and wealth, but it is without new ideas. It has nothing more to tell the people. The only thing that remains is for it to justify itself." (pp. 53-54)

"The type of ownership and exploitation which the new class creates by using its authority and its administrative privileges is such that even the class itself must deny it.... This makes the legal position of the new class uncertain and is also the source of the new class's biggest internal difficulties. The contradiction discloses the disharmony between words and actions. While promising to abolish social differences, it must always increase them by acquiring the products of the nation's workshops and granting privileges to its adherents. It must proclaim loudly its dogma that it is fulfilling its historical mission of 'final' liberation of mankind from every misery and calamity while it acts in exactly the opposite way." (p. 66)

"Becoming increasingly one-sided and exclusive, contemporary Communism more and more creates half-truths and tries to justify them. At first sight, it seems as if its views, individually, were true. But it is incurably infected with lies. Its half-truths are exaggerated and debased to the point of perversion; the more rigid and the more inspired it is with lies, the more it strengthens the monopolism of its leaders over society, and thus over Communist theory itself." (p. 129)

"The world has seen few heroes as ready to sacrifice and suffer as the Communists were on the eve of and during the revolution. It has probably never seen such characterless wretches and stupid defenders of arid formulas as they become after attaining power. Wonderful human features were the condition for creating and attracting power for the movement; exclusive caste spirit and complete lack of ethical principles and virtues have become conditions for the power and maintenance of the movement. Honor, sincerity, sacrifice, and love of the truth were once things that could be understood for their own sakes; now, deliberate lies, sycophancy, slander, deception, and provocation gradually become the inevitable attendants of the dark, intolerant, and all-inclusive might of the new class, and even affect relations between the members of the class." (pp. 155-156)

D. Communism's New Class

"In contrast to earlier revolutions, the Communist revolution, conducted in the name of doing away with classes, has resulted in the most complete authority of any single new class. Everything else is sham and an illusion." (p. 36)

"Membership in the Communist Party before the Revolution meant sacrifice. Being a professional revolutionary was one of the highest honors. Now that the party has consolidated its power, party membership means that one belongs to a privileged class. And at the core of the party are the all-powerful exploiters and masters.

"For a long time the Communist revolution and the Communist system have been concealing their real nature. The emergence of the new class has been concealed under Socialist phraseology and, more important, under the new collective forms of property ownership. The so-called socialist ownership is a disguise for the real ownership by the political bureaucracy." (p. 47)

"But the new class is really a new class, with a special composition and special power. By any scientific definition of a class, even the Marxist definition by which some classes are lower than others according to their specific position in production, we conclude that, in the USSR and other Communist countries, a new class of owners and exploiters is in existence. The specific characteristic of this new class is its collective ownership." (p. 54)

"The new class instinctively feels that national goods are, in fact, its property, and that even the terms 'socialist,' 'social,' and 'state' property denote a general legal fiction. The new class also thinks that any breach of its totalitarian authority might imperil its ownership. Consequently, the new class opposes any type of freedom, ostensibly for the purpose of preserving 'socialist' ownership. Criticism of the new class's monopolistic administration of property generates the fear of a possible loss of power. The new class is sensitive to these criticisms and demands depending on the extent to which they expose the manner in which it rules and holds power." (p. 65)

"Contemporary Communism is not only a party of a certain type, or a bureaucracy which has sprung from monopolistic ownership and excessive state interference in the economy. More than anything else, the essential aspect of contemporary Communism is the new class of owners and exploiters.... The new class, because it had a weak relationship to the economy and social structure, and of necessity had its origin in a single party, was forced to establish the highest possible organizational structure. Finally it was forced to a deliberate and conscious withdrawal from its earlier tenets. Consequently the new class is more highly organized and more highly class-conscious than any class in recorded history." (pp. 58-59)

E. Communist Economy

"The development of the economy in Communism is not the basis for, but a reflection of, the development of the regime itself from a revolutionary dictatorship to a reactionary despotism. This development, through struggles and disputes, demonstrates how the interference of government in the economy, necessary at first, has gradually turned into a vital, personal interest on the part of the ruling bureaucrats. Initially, the state seizes all means of production in order to control all investments for rapid industrialization. Ultimately, further economic development has come to be guided mainly in the interests of the ruling class." (p. 103)

"Convinced of the accuracy of their theories, they administer the economy largely according to these theories. It is a standard joke that the Communists first equate an economic measure with a Marxist idea and then proceed to carry out the measure.... In practice, nothing is done according to

Marx. However, the claim that planning is conducted according to Marx satisfies people's consciences and is used to justify tyranny and economic domination for 'ideal' aims and according to 'scientific' discoveries.... Allegedly for the sake of a classless society and for the abolition of exploitation, it has created a closed economic system, with forms of property which facilitate the party's domination and its monopoly. At first, the Communists had to turn to this 'collectivistic' form for objective reasons. Now they continue to strengthen this form--without considering whether or not it is in the interest of the national economy and of further industrialization--for their own sake, for an exclusive Communist class aim. They first administered and controlled the entire economy for so-called ideal goals; later they did it for the purpose of maintaining their absolute control and domination." (pp. 104-105)

"In Communist economies full employment conceals unemployment. The poverty of all conceals the unemployment of some, just as the phenomenal progress of some sectors of the economy conceals the backwardness of others.

"By the same token, this type of monopoly ownership and government is able to prevent economic collapse, but incapable of preventing chronic crises. The selfish interests of the new class and the ideological character of the economy make it impossible to maintain a healthy and harmonious system." (p. 113)

"Planning emphasis in every Communist system is always directed toward branches of the economy that are considered to be of decisive importance in maintaining the political stability of the regime. These branches are ones that enhance the role, power, and privileges of the bureaucracy." (p. 114)

"The Communist planned economy conceals within itself an anarchy of a special kind. In spite of the fact that it is planned, the Communist economy is perhaps the most wasteful economy in the history of human society.... The absence of any type of criticism, even of any type of important suggestion, inevitably leads to waste and stagnation." (p. 118)

"In Communist systems, thefts and misappropriations are inevitable. It is not just poverty that motivates people to steal the 'national property'; but the fact that the property does not seem to belong to anyone. All valuables are somehow rendered valueless, thus creating a favorable atmosphere for theft and waste.... The Communist leaders handle national property as their own, but at the same

time they waste it as if it were somebody else's. Such is the nature of ownership and government of the system.... The moment is approaching when industrialization, which first made Communism inevitable, will through further development make the Communist form of government and ownership superfluous." (p. 120)

"Despite its powerful concentration of forces in one pair of hands and its rapid if unbalanced successes, the Communist economic system has been showing deep fissures and weaknesses since the moment of its complete victory. Even though it has not yet reached the height of its power it is already running into difficulties. Its future is less and less secure; the Communist economic system will have to battle furiously, inside and outside, for its existence." (p. 123)

F. The Peasant under Communism

"The fact that the seizure of property from other classes, especially from small owners, led to decreases in production and to chaos in the economy was of no consequence to the new class. Most important for the new class, as for every owner in history, was the attainment and consolidation of ownership. The class profited from the new property it had acquired even though the nation lost thereby. The collectivization of peasant holdings, which was economically unjustified, was unavoidable if the new class was to be securely installed in its power and its ownership.... Collectivization was a frightful and devastating war which resembled an insane undertaking--except for the fact that it was profitable for the new class by assuring its authority." (pp. 56-57)

"Through the kolkhozes and the use of the compulsory crop-purchase system, the new class has succeeded in making vassals of the peasants and grabbing a lion's share of the peasants' income." (p. 63)

G. The Status of Law under Communism

"An independent judiciary and the rule of law would inevitably make it possible for an opposition to appear. For instance, no law in the Communist system opposes the free expression of opinion or the right of organization. Laws in the Communist system guarantee all sorts of rights to citizens, and are based on the principle of an independent judiciary. In practice, there is no such thing." (p. 88)

"Most of the illegal organizations in Communist regimes are created by the secret police in order to lure opponents into them and to put these opponents in a position where the police can settle accounts with them. The Communist government does not discourage 'objectionable' citizens from committing law violations and crimes; in fact it prods them into such violations and crimes." (p. 90)

"The Communist legal system cannot free itself of formalism, nor abolish the decisive influence of party units and the police in trials, elections, and similar events. The higher up one goes, the more legality becomes a mere ornament, and the greater the role of government in the judiciary, in elections, and the like becomes. The emptiness and pomposity of Communist elections is generally well known." (p. 93)

"Communist parliaments are not in a position to make decisions on anything important. Selected in advance as they are, flattered that they have been thus selected, representatives do not have the power or the courage to debate even if they wanted to do so. Besides, since their mandate does not depend on the voters, representatives do not feel that they are answerable to them. Communist parliaments are justifiably called 'mausoleums' for the representatives who compose them. Their right and role consist of unanimously approving from time to time that which has already been decided for them from the wings." (p. 94)

H. Trade Unionism under Communism

"In such a system, free trade union organizations are impossible, and strikes can happen very rarely, such as the explosions of worker dissatisfaction in East Germany in 1954 and in Poznan in 1956.... Above all, strikes under the Communist system are impossible because there is only one owner who is in charge of all goods and of the entire labor force. It would be hard to take any effective action against him without the participation of all the workers.... While individual strikes are almost impossible, and hopeless as far as potential results are concerned, there are no proper political conditions for general strikes and they can occur only in exceptional situations. Whenever individual strikes have taken place, they have usually changed into general strikes and have taken on a distinctly political character.... Trade union organizations and other professional organizations, because of their purpose and function, can only be the appendages of a single owner and potentate--

the political oligarchy. Thus, their 'main' purpose is the job of 'building socialism' or increasing production. Their other functions are to spread illusions and an acquiescent mood among the workers. These organizations have played only one important role--the lifting of the cultural level of the working classes. Workers' organizations under the Communist system are really 'company' or 'yellow' organizations of a special kind." (pp. 109-110)

I. Intellectual Activity under Communism

"The proposition that Marxism is a universal method, a proposition upon which Communists are obliged to stand, must in practice lead to tyranny in all areas of intellectual activity." (p. 129)

"Even in Communist systems, men are not so stupefied by uniform propaganda that it is impossible for them to arrive at the truth, or at new ideas. In the intellectual field, however, the plan of the oligarchs results less in production than in stagnation, corruption, and decay." (p. 133)

"Monopoly over ideas, the formation of the consciousness, are the prerequisites of the rulers. Communists are traditionalists in art, mostly because of the need to maintain their monopoly over the minds of the people but also because of their ignorance and onesidedness." (p. 137)

"Persecutions, prohibitions, the imposition of forms and ideas, humiliations, and insults; the doctrinaire authority of semi-literate bureaucrats over geniuses; all this is done in the name of the people and for the people." (p. 141)

"An enemy to thought in the name of science, an enemy to freedom in the name of democracy, the Communist oligarchy cannot but accomplish complete corruption of the mind.... In Communist systems, corruption is an integral part of state policy. The Communist system, as a rule, stifles and represses any intellectual activity with which it does not agree; that is, everything that is profound and original. On the other hand, it rewards and encourages, and actually corrupts, all that it thinks will benefit 'socialism,' that is, the system itself.... An oppressed human mind is forced to submit to corruption. If one seeks to know why for a quarter of a century there have been scarcely any significant works, especially in literature, in the USSR, he would find that corruption has played as great or greater a part than

oppression in causing this scarcity. The Communist system persecutes, suspects, and prods into self-criticism its really creative people. It offers its sycophants attractive "working conditions" and lavish honorariums, rewards, villas, vacation centers, discounts, automobiles, ambassadorial mandates, agit-prop protections, and "magnanimous" interventions." Thus, as a rule, it favors the untalented, dependent, and non-inventive. It is understandable that the greatest minds have lost their direction, faith, and power. Suicide, despair, alcoholism, and debauchery, the loss of internal powers and integrity because the artist is forced to lie to himself and others--these are the most frequent phenomena in the Communist system among those who actually wish to, and could create." (pp. 142-144)

"Tyranny over the mind is the most complete and most brutal type of tyranny; every other tyranny begins and ends with it...On the one hand the ideological discrimination in Communist systems aims at prohibiting other ideas; on the other, at imposing exclusively its own ideas. These are two most striking forms of unbelievable, total tyranny.... History will pardon Communists for much, establishing that they were forced into many brutal acts because of circumstances and the need to defend their existence. But the stifling of every divergent thought, the exclusive monopoly over thinking for the purpose of defending their personal interests, will nail the Communists to a cross of shame in history." (pp. 145-146)

J. National Communism

"The subordinate Communist governments in East Europe can, in fact must, declare their independence from the Soviet government. No one can say how far this aspiration for independence will go and what disagreements will result. The result depends on numerous unforeseen internal and external circumstances. However, there is no doubt that a national Communist bureaucracy aspires for more complete authority for itself." (p. 176)

"Today national Communism is a general phenomenon in Communism. To varying degrees all Communist movements--except that of the USSR against which it is directed--are gripped by national Communism. In its time, in the period of Stalin's ascendancy, Soviet Communism also was national Communism. At that time Russian Communism abandoned internationalism, except as an instrument of its foreign policy. Today Soviet Communism is compelled, even if indefinitely, to acknowledge a new reality in Communism." (p. 181)

"The world center of Communist ideology no longer exists; it is in the process of complete disintegration. The unity of the world Communist movement is incurably injured. There are no visible possibilities whatsoever that it can be restored. However, just as the shift from Stalin to 'collective leadership' did not alter the nature of the system itself in the USSR, so too national Communism has been unable, despite ever increasing possibilities for liberation from Moscow, to alter its internal nature, which consists of total control and monopoly of ideas, and ownership by the party bureaucracy." (p. 183)

"In the Communist parties that are not in power it is evident that national Communism--despite its intent to stimulate Communism and strengthen its nature--is simultaneously the heresy that nibbles at Communism as such. National Communism per se is contradictory. Its nature is the same as that of Soviet Communism, but it aspires to detach itself into something of its own, nationally. In reality, national Communism is Communism in decline." (p. 190)

K. Soviet Imperialism

"The concept of national Communism had no meaning until the end of World War II, when Soviet imperialism was manifested not only with regard to the capitalist but the Communist states as well. This concept developed above all from the Yugoslav-USSR clash. The renunciation of Stalin's methods by the 'collective leadership' of Khrushchev-Bulganin may perhaps modify relations between the USSR and other Communist countries, but it cannot resolve them. In the USSR operations are not concerned solely with Communism but are simultaneously concerned with the imperialism of the Great Russian--Soviet--state. This imperialism can change in form and method, but it can no more disappear than can the aspirations of Communists of other countries for independence." (p. 178)

L. The Future of Communism

"While the new class accomplished one of its greatest successes in the revolution, its method of control is one of the most shameful pages in human history. Men will marvel at the grandiose ventures it accomplished, and will be ashamed of the means it used to accomplish them.

When the new class leaves the historical scene--and this must happen--there will be less sorrow over its passing than there was for any other class before it. Smothering everything except what suited its ego, it has condemned itself to failure and shameful ruin." (p. 69)

"In the Communist system, insecurity is the way of life for the individual. The state gives him the opportunity to make a living, but on condition that he submit. The personality is torn between what it desires and what it can actually have. It is free to recognize the interests of the collective and to submit to them, just as in every other system; but also it may rebel against the usurping representatives of the collective. Most of the individuals in the Communist system are not opposed to socialism, but opposed to the way in which it is being achieved--this confirms the fact that the Communists are not developing any sort of true socialism." (p. 98)

"Communism first originated as an ideology, which contained in its seed Communism's totalitarian and monopolistic nature. It can certainly be said that ideas no longer play the main, predominant role in Communism's control of the people. Communism as an ideology has mainly run its course. It does not have many new things to reveal to the world." (p. 167)

"A crisis has actually begun in the Communist parties of the non-Communist states. If they change over to national Communism, they risk forsaking their very nature; and if they do not change over, they face a loss of followers. Their leaders, those who represent the spirit of Communism in these parties, will be forced into the most cunning manipulations and unscrupulous measures if they are to extricate themselves from this contradiction. It is improbable that they will be able to check disorientation and disintegration. They have reached a state of conflict with the real tendencies of development in the world and in their countries that obviously lead toward new relationships. National Communism outside of the Communist states inevitably leads toward renunciation of Communism itself, or toward the disintegration of the Communist parties." (p. 189)